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Apr. 1955

A CHRISTIAN NEWSLETTER ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Department of International Affairs
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
297 Fourth Avenue - New York 10, N.Y.

Volume 3, Number 4

\$1.00 per year

April, 1955

CHURCH LEADERS SUPPORT EISENHOWER IN NEGOTIATION, USE OF UN, AND RESISTANCE TO WAR

Amid various voices on foreign policy concerning the Asian crisis, some counseling strong steps against Red China and President Eisenhower counseling "courageous patience" in negotiation for peaceful solution, Christian leaders in the National Council of Churches gave their support to the President's policies in a message released to the press March 31. It was telegraphed to the President by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President of the NCC, the Honorable Ernest A. Gross, Chairman of its Department of International Affairs, and Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Executive Director of the Department: it reads in part:

"WE...APPEAL TO YOU TO TAKE ALL HONORABLE STEPS TO THE END THAT THE CRISIS IN ASIA OF WHICH THE FORMOSA STRAIT ISSUE IS A PART, MAY BE PEACEABLY RESOLVED. WE LOOK TO YOU TO RESIST THE PRESSURE OF THOSE WHO, HOWEVER SINCERE, APPEAR TO ADVOCATE POLICIES THAT COULD LEAD TO A THIRD WORLD WAR. WE WOULD REGARD AS EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE ANY COURSE OF ACTION IN ASIA THAT WOULD IMPERIL THE GOODWILL AND COOPERATION OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

"IT IS OUR FERVENT DESIRE THAT IN THIS HOUR OF NATIONAL PERIL YOU WILL ONCE AGAIN CALL UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO EXERCISE PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT: THAT YOU WILL CAUTION AGAINST THE RISKS OF UNILATERAL ACTION: THAT YOU WILL UTILIZE TO THE FULLEST EXTENT SUCH FACILITIES FOR NEGOTIATION AS MAY BE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS OR ELSEWHERE.

..."THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION, AS WELL AS OUR TRADITION OF RESPONSIBILITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS, REQUIRES THAT EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT BE MADE TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM. WE BELIEVE NEGOTIATION IS THE MOST PRACTICABLE MEANS FOR SEEKING SOLUTIONS CONSISTENT WITH PRINCIPLE. WE REJECT THE VIEW THAT NEGOTIATION IS APPEASEMENT. APPEASEMENT LIES IN THE SURRENDER OF PRINCIPLE.

..."WE ARE CONVINCED ...THAT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR NEGOTIATION EXCEPT THE ARBITRAMENT OF FORCE, WHICH CREATES VASTLY GREATER PROBLEMS THAN IT CAN EVER SOLVE."

This message is intended as part of a nation-wide expression by individual Christians, churches, local and state councils of churches and denominations encouraging the administration and the Congress to avoid a drift toward war and to work for ways which may bring peaceful resolution of the present crisis.

IN THIS ISSUE

- 1 - Church Leaders Support Negotiation, Use of UN, Resistance to War
- 2 - Disarmament Post Created, Cabinet Rank. Churchill: Rhetoric, Retirement
- 3 - More Arms in Reserves? UMT Opposition Grows.
- 4 - Aid to Asia Program Proposed with Basic Foreign Policy Principles
- 5 - 5-Point "Partnership" Plan of Senator Smith. "Operation Brotherhood"
- 6 - Refugee Program Further Roadblocked by Corsi Dismissal; Its Future?
- 7 - Fate up to Senate, Public Opinion: Technical Aid; Reciprocal Trade
- 8 - What Are You Doing? News from Denominations, Councils, Churches

DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS RECOGNIZED IN U.S. POLICY BY NEW CABINET POST

"A Secretary for Peace" in the United States Cabinet has been proposed by many churchmen through the years to bring a balance along with military representation in top-level policy making by the government and to symbolize somewhat the true aspirations of our nation for peace. Some of these ideas are now being realized in part, since March 19, when President Eisenhower announced as appropriate to "our constant objective of peace" the creation of a new position of cabinet rank: Special Assistant to the President to deal with problems of disarmament. As first incumbent of this strategic post, he appointed Harold E. Stassen who will assume this responsibility part-time now and full-time when he resigns from the FOA as it turns its work over to other government agencies in June. This is the first time, according to the White House, that any government has established a post of cabinet rank on disarmament.

The new post includes the following duties: "To take into account the full implications of new weapons in the possession of other nations as well as the United States, to consider future probabilities of armaments, and to weigh the views of the military and the civilians and the officials of our Government and other Governments." The chief responsibility of this cabinet officer will be to develop on behalf of the President and the State Department, "The broad studies, investigations, and conclusions which, when concurred in by the National Security Council and approved by the President will become basic policy toward the question of disarmament."

Many values appear in this development, along with such reservations and questions as might be raised with regard to specific duties of such new position or any specific appointee. It is a symbol to other nations of our concern for disarmament and peace. It offers opportunities for the churches and individual Christians to communicate through a special channel their imagineering and their best thinking for programs of world order involving reduction and regulation of arms.

The Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches has on the agenda for its April meeting consideration of the most effective ways Christians and churches can work to utilize potentialities of this new post. Letters from church members and groups have begun to flow into that office in what may well become a strong, continuing expression of Christian conviction and proposals to help our nation develop new, more effective policies in fields related to disarmament. Prayers are also in order for this new venture and all who share in it, for it may be considered, among other things, an act of faith as well as of necessity.

Meanwhile, the 5-power UN Sub-committee on disarmament, having held 40 meetings in its current session in London recessed for a week in April. The new U.S. post on disarmament is not intended in any way to by-pass the UN, according to authoritative sources; rather this official will be active in UN work on disarmament.

CHURCHILL'S RHETORIC AND LEADERSHIP ECHO ON IN MIDST OF HIS RETIREMENT

Dramatic and magnificent, as usual, as admitted by both friends and enemies, the Right Honorable Sir Winston Churchill resigned as Prime Minister of Britain at 80, leaving a legacy of leadership and of inspiration for his own people and for the world. In one of his last major addresses in the House of Commons he dealt with questions of nuclear fission and its appalling weapons, expressing the hope that the development of them might prove to be such a deterrent against war that mankind would after some years march from this "hideous epoch" into a more serene and triumphant time. He struck off an exhortation of value not only to his nation but to Christians and all men of good will in their efforts for a just and real peace:

"Meanwhile, never flinch, never weary, never despair."

(cf. Isaiah 42.4).

MORE ARMS IN RESERVES CONSIDERED BY CONGRESS: UMT OPPOSITION GROWS

Hearings by its Sub-committee concluded, the House Armed Services Committee is acting on the administration's National Reserve Plan in H.R.2967, which proposes to increase the reserves and to empower beyond Selective Service the volunteering, or failing that, the conscription of 100,000 or more youths of 18 years of age. The Sub-committee after seven weeks of hearings and consideration voted 9 to 1 to report the bill to the Armed Services Committee in a modified form, H.R. 5297, which deleted some features but was a far stronger plan than many had expected. The draft would be continued, requiring two years of duty plus three years of compulsory service in the Ready Reserve or National Guard Unit plus three years in the standby reserve; enlistees in other branches of the armed forces for three or four years would also be compelled to do additional duty in the Guard or Reserve to complete service totalling eight years; a volunteer program for 17 and 18 year olds would be set up for six months' basic training plus seven and one half years in the Guard or an active reserve unit, the National Security Training Commission, the UMT created body, to have responsibility for their "health and welfare." This would be the first time in peacetime when a steady stream of men who have had some military training would be compelled to serve in the reserves. Compulsion would come by stipulations that if men failed to participate in reserve duty they would be returned to active service for a period, and if they failed to follow through on that, would be court-martialed.

Temporarily deleted in the Sub-committee recommendation was the feature in the administration's proposal that the new short term basic-training plus long-term reserve duty plan should have conscriptive powers so that if sufficient number of 17 and 18 year olds did not volunteer they could be drafted. This is favored by Chairman Overton Brooks of the Sub-committee who said it will be proposed to the full committee, even though deleted in the Sub-committee recommendations, by tie vote, 6 to 6. This is one provision which analysts of the bill generally see as universal military training or the entering wedge of UMT. Strong action by public opinion will be required to prevent its being restored to the legislation by the Armed Forces Committee or to defeat it in the House if recommended in the Committee report.

Some of the opposition to the UMT aspect within the Sub-committee is seen in statements of two members, reported in the N.Y. Times, March 22: Speaking to an official of the Department of Defense testifying before the Sub-committee, Congressman William G. Bray, R - Indiana, said: "If we start drafting youths at this age for Reserves, the opposition in the House would be so overwhelming that you wouldn't know what hit you." Congressman James P.S. Deveraux, R - Maryland, hero of Wake Island in World War II said: "There would be no question in the public mind that we were going back to the compulsory universal training that Congress has rejected."

The Senate Armed Services Committee is expected to begin hearings soon on a measure passed by the House to extend the present draft system until 1959, H.R. 3005.

Opposition to permanent UMT elements in proposed legislation has been increasing as seen in thinking in denominations, in statements of church groups and in their testifying before congressional committees. A significant part of this growing movement is the National Council of Churches' reaffirmation, in March, of opposition to permanent UMT and testimony in Congress. State and local councils of churches, Councils of Church Women, as well as a number of denominations are opposing UMT. Some church groups are also increasingly raising questions about the militarizing impact in our nation of such a comprehensive reserve program as proposed in the administration's plan.

AID TO ASIA PROGRAM PROPOSED WITH BASIC FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES

Following months of discussion and concern with the issue of aid to Asia by government and citizens alike, President Eisenhower announced on April 11 that he would send to Congress in April a request to approve a program of increased economic aid to the free nations of South and East Asia starting July 1, 1955. By making a special statement on the Asian part of this forthcoming mutual security proposals the President brought specific emphasis to the unusual importance the administration attaches to this part of our foreign policy and our concern with fundamental issues in Asia.

The President's statement set forth some underlying principles of foreign policy: "By tradition and conviction, our nation is committed to the independence and self-determination of all peoples. This determination, rooted in our own revolt against colonial status, is exemplified by our encouragement of Cuba and the Philippines to assume full freedom and control of their destiny as independent nations.

"Throughout our history, and especially in the postwar years, the American people have made substantial personal sacrifices so that other peoples may enjoy internal stability and hope for the future. Cooperation has been offered by our people not to preserve the status quo but to encourage progress.

"In accord with our political and spiritual heritage, the United States is ready to intensify its cooperation with the free nations of South and East Asia in their efforts to achieve economic development and a rising standard of living.

"The motivation behind this cooperation is twofold: Our fixed belief in the worth and dignity of the human individual whatever his race or flag may be, and our dedication to the principle that the fruits of national growth must be widely shared in every society.

"As a people we insist that the dignity of the individual and his manifold rights require for their preservation a constantly expanding economic base. We are convinced that our continued economic, cultural and spiritual progress are furthered by similar progress everywhere. For this reason we stand ready to work in genuine cooperation and partnership with the free peoples of the world - in a cooperation and partnership which does not exact from them any sacrifice of their independence, in thought and action, but rather contributes to their progress and freedom as well as our own.

"The peoples of the world, dedicated to the preservation of peace, recognize that man must go forward and that the interests of all free people are indivisible. America's foreign economic policy expresses that attitude."

The specific proposals of the administration were outlined by Foreign Operations Administrator Harold E. Stassen when he spoke of "administration plans to devote two thirds of a mutual security program of three and a half billion dollars to the arc of free Asia" in the next fiscal year of which nearly one billion dollars would be for economic and technical assistance programs.

One interesting development in aid for Asia is that our undertaking is instrumental in inducing a larger number of the free nations to contribute more in a program of partnership. Also, the President's proposals of increased aid to Asia have met with ready response from nations in Asia. In accord with U.S. suggestions, India has called an 11 country conference at Simla in May to discuss regional use of such new economic aid.

This expanded program of economic and technical aid to Asia is in keeping with the policies of the churches as enunciated on various occasions, particularly as set forth as long ago as 1949 in the statements on The Churches and Economic Policy in the Far East and Christian Principles for a Program of Technical Assistance. If the President's proposals are to receive adequate backing in Congress, it is important that Christians and church groups communicate their convictions in this matter to the administration and to their representatives in the House and Senate.

FIVE-POINT "PARTNERSHIP" PLAN URGED BY SENATOR SMITH AMONG NATIONS IN MUTUAL AID

In an address to the Senate on March 22, a Republican foreign policy leader, member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator H. Alexander Smith, (R-N.J.), called on the free nations of the world to join in developing a new 5-point program for aiding underdeveloped countries. He forthrightly presented this as a change from pre-occupation with defensive military measures to developing "with the people of the less advanced countries a positive, dynamic program that will spark their enthusiasm and determination to build their economies and societies on democratic foundations." Expressing satisfaction with accomplishments in European policies in economic terms, he said the U.S. and the free world must increasingly concentrate on mutual aid to the underdeveloped areas of the world, whose physical extent "is staggering, and their potential resources enormous." Not simply for military defensiveness nor for anti-communism, but for the sake of these people and for civilization itself, he proposes a more widely conceived program of mutual aid among nations around the world. Another change in emphasis is that we in the U.S. and others should no longer think in terms of the "rich uncle" but a "new partnership." His 5-point plan includes:

1. "That the free Asian nations from India east to Japan, which make up the Colombo plan group, be encouraged to take the initiative in calling an economic conference under the auspices of that plan to form a program of improved mutual trade.
2. "That the Congress and the administration give careful consideration to the possibility of supporting an International Fund for capital development.
3. "That the Congress proceed to consider thoroughly all possible methods of increasing private investment in underdeveloped countries. We should support those proposals of the Randall Report which are likely to bring this about.
4. "That the Congress give its support to greatly expanded information and exchange of persons programs, especially in the Far East.
5. "That the Congress give increased support to the technical assistance programs."

Warning the Senate against thinking that Asia can be kept from turning to communism by a little program of a year or two, he spoke of Communist thinking in terms of decades, generations, even centuries. He said the Soviet Government spends more than one billion dollars on its world information program every year, "more than we have spent in the last 10 years put together." He declared: "Our economic assistance and our psychological program are obviously inadequate in comparison with the tremendous efforts of the Communists." How vast are our problems and opportunities, he pointed out, with total population of the non-Communist world about 1.6 billion people, of whom two-thirds live in underdeveloped countries.

Senator Smith has called for a change of emphasis from defensive military pre-occupation to a positive constructive partnership aid; he spells out for consideration of legislators and people some specific ways to develop a program. His proposals considerably match some proposals of the churches in recent years calling for such elements in our foreign policy, to make it more effective for humanitarian concern, justice, international goodwill and peace. It may, therefore, be in order to wonder how many church people and groups have read and discussed Senator Smith's outstanding address, how many have written to him and to their own Senators and Representatives and to the Administration commanding concrete action for such a program of partnership aid.

"OPERATION BROTHERHOOD": PHILIPPINE MEDICS SERVE REFUGEES IN INDOCHINA

A dramatic response to needs of others by the Philippine Junior Chamber of Commerce provides doctors and nurses working in teams, 24 hours per day, at refugee centers in Indochina. First call was for 15 volunteers; 100 responded. They are setting an inspiring example of people of one young nation serving desperate needs in another.

REFUGEE RELIEF PROGRAM FURTHER ROADBLOCKED BY CORSI DISMISSAL: ITS FUTURE HOPES?

Church groups, secular agencies and religious leaders expressed in numerous telegrams to the Secretary of State on April 11 their "deep dismay" over the blocking of the Refugee Relief Program in the dismissal of Edward J. Corsi as Special Immigration Adviser to the Secretary of State. Nine major private relief agencies, which represent 100,000,000 citizens and which handled about 90 percent of immigrants under the Displaced Persons Act, jointly wired a strong message terming Corsi's firing "an unfortunate blow to the effectiveness of the Refugee Relief Program."

Representatives of these voluntary agencies subsequently, on April 15, met with Secretary Dulles, Assistant Secretary for Administration Loy Henderson, under whom Scott McLeod functions, and Rodney O'Conner, Special Assistant to the Secretary. Under chairman Roland Elliott, Director of Immigration Services of Church World Service, NCC, they stated their objective: To "make constructive and responsible proposals for strengthening this program while there is still time." They declared: This is "so vital to our Foreign Policy and to the maintenance of the traditional American attitude toward the oppressed." "The paramount issue," they said "is the demonstration by our government that it means to make this Program work; the prestige of America is at stake in our proving emphatically and soon that our offer of assistance to Refugees is a reality. The destiny of thousands who have risked all for freedom is in the balance. We cannot stand before them - and the world - with unfulfilled promises." They presented the following proposals which were agreed to by the State Department: 1) That a Deputy Administrator be appointed "who is fully qualified and recognized as a leader in immigration and welfare work, and committed to the achievement of this Law's objectives." 2) That an Expediter be appointed to coordinate the program overseas through various agencies there and to overcome negative attitudes of refugees there and citizens here. The Secretary replied to a third proposal for an Advisory Council that he "would welcome some arrangement by which he might get the benefit of the views of the voluntary agencies on a regular basis." In face of recent events, "The Secretary assured us that we need have no concern in this regard: that greater attention would be given to the program in the future than had been given in the past."

Results of the program, in statistics, indicate the critical situation and the magnitude of the problem confronted now, whether one accepts figures of Mr. Corsi or Mr. McLeod. The former charges it is a "scandalous failure," with less than 1,000 refugees admitted. The latter gives State Department figures as 1,044 refugees admitted with 3,700 refugee visas issued. Original quota set in 1953 was 214,000 refugees and relatives of immigrants already here, within 36 months. Over half of that time has elapsed. In addition to the prime factor in the Program, the refugees, under the clause for relatives of immigrants, 23,000 visas were issued of which 15,000 have entered the U.S. Other sources indicate these mid-March totals: Refugees, escapees and expellees - 764; orphans - 543; Italian relatives of U.S. citizens - 12,374; Greek relatives - 1,917; Dutch relatives - 250.

Many basic principles and personnel issues involved in Mr. Corsi's dismissal are being raised inside and outside of government for consideration and action. The primary concerns in terms of international relations now are the whole future of the Refugee Relief Program and what that will say to other nations as to our real interest in human welfare and freedom for such living victims of hot and cold wars. With Christian concern for a more effective Refugee Relief Program, further actions commend themselves: 1) That churchmen and groups inform the State Department, their Congressmen and Senators of their desires for necessary changes of policy and personnel. 2) That individuals and local churches assume responsibility for sponsoring refugees. Church people must take such initiative if the program, even with its limitations, is to give any further relief to refugee problems.

RECIPROCAL TRADE BILL IS IN CRITICAL CONSIDERATION BY SENATE

Action by the Senate is expected soon on the much debated Reciprocal Trade Program, H.R. 1, passed by the House virtually as the President recommended it, but only after a hard battle. The bill is now before the Senate Finance Committee for hearings. Opposition, unparalleled in recent years, was expressed in House deliberations and is promised in the Senate by critics of the program, some opposing it as a whole, but most of them feeling responsibility to speak for certain local interests and industries which consider themselves threatened.

The administration hopes for the passage of the bill to extend the program for three years with no crippling amendments. However, critics predict they will put numerous major curbs on it in the Senate. Such restrictions could have grave consequences both economic and psychological in our world relations. These decisions, so important in terms of U.S. international trade and foreign policy will be made within weeks by the Senate and public opinion. The President's proposals, based primarily not on local problems or special interests but on concerns of world relationships will be helped in this legislative process by public support or hindered by indifference.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THROUGH UN SLASHED IN HOUSE: FATE UP TO SENATE AND CITIZENS

While long-range policies concerning technical assistance, both bilateral and multi-lateral, were being considered in the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the House voted to cut in half the appropriation for the current six-months' period of the United Nations Technical Assistance Program, reducing it from eight to four million dollars. Along with all the practical problems involved in this, there is the moral issue: This would be to default on our pledged word among the other nations of the world; the eight million dollars for this six months was pledged to the UN and was authorized by Congress in 1954. It should now be appropriated to fulfill our moral and material obligations.

The Senate Committee on Appropriations has recommended appropriation of the full 8 million dollars. Now it is up to the Senate, subsequent Conference Committee and public concern expressed to Senators and Congressmen specifically responsible in this.

To remedy the more basic problem of our yearly pledging when other nations do, not keeping the total program in question as to our action until months later, a proposal has been made by individuals and groups, such as the Church Peace Union: That the U.S. Congress appropriate this spring 25 million dollars for the UN Technical Assistance Program for the rest of this year and for next year. This would enable our nation to pledge at the proper time and help put the whole program on a more sound business basis, with higher morale and efficiency around the world.

The need and value of technical assistance programs have been underlined by various leaders: Governor Harriman deplored "scurrilous attacks that have been made upon the United Nations and the recent irresponsible votes in the Congress to slash the United States Appropriation for the United Nations' constructive and inspiring Technical Assistance Program." Henry Ford 2d testified before the Senate Foreign Relations' Sub-committee that the U.S. would play into Russia's hands if we fail to cooperate with UN technical assistance to underdeveloped nations; we would "lose leadership by default;" he noted that 62 nations including Russia had announced contributions to the 1955 UN program and that if the U.S. does not announce its contribution soon, the program "will have to be drastically curtailed;" this program, he said, "probably means more to the underdeveloped people than any other single effort of international cooperation in history."

PRESS NOTE: SENATE-HOUSE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE AGREED ON \$6,500,000 FOR UN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR 6 MONTHS; PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES; SLASHED BILL ON PRESIDENT'S DESK. 4/22/55.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING? News from Denominations, Councils, and Local Churches

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIANS PRESENT POSITIVE PROGRAM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Impact on public opinion through good press coverage early this year marked the launching of the current program on U.S. Foreign Policy being promoted in Congregational Christian churches through their Council for Social Action. Dr. Ray Gibbons is Director of the Council; Dr. John C. Bennett is Chairman and Rev. Herman F. Reissig is Secretary of the International Relations Committee which developed the program. It has the virtue, much to be desired in Christian action, of being positive in its emphasis.

The program is a rather unique combination of "A Message" addressed to members of the Congregational Christian Churches on 10 points of U.S. Foreign Policy from the Council for Social Action, with 10 "Study and Action Sheets." The program "does not undertake to endorse the whole foreign policy of the Administration, it wishes to call attention to actions or statements of policy with which it heartily agrees and to urge our churches and their members to give them their support." The 10 points are: 1) Emphasizing "partnership" not "leadership." 2) "Officially and definitely rejecting the idea of a preventive war." 3) Rejecting a blockade of China as an "act of war" and because UN Charter obliges seeking peaceful means for settling disputes. 4) Rejecting proposals to announce that the U.S. will withdraw from the UN if Peiping is admitted or that the U.S. will never under any circumstances recognize Red China. (5) Increasing and facilitating trade through extending Reciprocal Trade, simplifying customs rules and encouraging investment of private capital overseas. 6) Expanding economic and technical aid to Asia, especially since the power struggle has shifted from military to economic competition. 7) Sharing atomic materials and skills with other nations to raise living standards. 8) Amending the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act to eliminate discriminations and make it a better expression of American ideals. 9) Opposing the "Bricker Amendment" to restrict constitutional provisions for conducting foreign policy. 10) Supporting commitment to the UN as a multilateral agency in work for peace.

This combination of a positive "Message" and 10 "Study and Action Sheets" commends itself for many uses such as: Individual information and action; the work of Social Action Committees in the local church, community, or state; background material for preaching or speaking on such concerns; outline for a course of study such as adult study groups. On any single issue in this series, a quantity of separate "Study and Action Sheets" is available and of real value for group distribution and use. These include: Background, pros and cons, Christian attitudes, suggestions for action and study. Copies of this mimeographed series of a "Message" and 10 "Study and Action Sheets" are available, while the supply lasts, at a cost of 25¢ for a complete set or 2½¢ per copy for individual "Study and Action Sheets." Order from the Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

NEXT MONTH: Notes on Youth Activities through UCYM; Missouri Council of Churches.

This Newsletter is published 10 times per year, Sept. through June, by the Dept. of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches; the Honorable Ernest A. Gross, Chairman; Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Executive Director; Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell, Associate Executive Director, editor of the Newsletter. It is prepared by the staff to provide specialized information for education and action on current issues. Viewpoints expressed in it should not necessarily be regarded as the policy of the Dept. or of the National Council of Churches. It is designed for denominational and council secretaries; national, state and local committees; ministers, laymen, women and young people who wish to keep up with the work of the churches in this field. Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year.